

1 ZY
MONO. SECTION

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM
(Separatist Movements in the U. S. S. R.)

CONSULTATION WITH YAROSLAV STETZKO
FORMER UKRAINIAN PRIME MINISTER

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

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INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

(Separatist Movements in the U. S. S. R.)

WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1936

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

CONSULTATION

The following consultation with Yaroslav Stetsko, former Ukrainian Prime Minister, was held at 2:10 p. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., pursuant to the authorization of the Committee on Un-American Activities, composed of--

FRANCIS E. WALTER, Pennsylvania, Chairman	
MORGAN M. MOULDER, Maryland	BERNARD W. KEARNEY, New York
CLYDE DOYLE, California	DONALD L. JACKSON, California
EDWIN E. WILLS, Louisiana	GORDON E. SCHMERER, Ohio
WILLIAM M. TUCK, Virginia	ROBERT J. MINTOCK, Michigan

Staff members present: Richard Arons, staff director; William F. Heintlich, consultant; and Richard B. Wall, staff member.

Also present: Walter Dushnyck and Ignatius Bilinsky, interpreters for Mr. Stetsko; and Johannes S. Wissembach, of the Alderson Reporting Co., reporter and notary public.

Mr. ARONS. Gentlemen, the notary public will administer the oath.

Miss WISEMBACH. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STETSKO. I do.

Mr. DUSHNYCK. I do.

Mr. BILINSKY. I do.

STATEMENT OF YAROSLAV STETSKO, GIVEN THROUGH THE
INTERPRETERS, MRS. BILINSKY AND DUSHNYCK

Mr. ARONS. Will each of you gentlemen kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. STETSKO. I am Yaroslav Stetsko, presently residing in Munich, Germany, as an official address.

Mr. DUSHNYCK. My name is Walter Dushnyck, 2164 Coston Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. I am a writer and journalist; an American citizen.

Mr. BILINSKY. My name is Ignatius Bilinsky. I reside in Philadelphia City, 5018 North 11th Street; and I hold the office of managing editor of the Ukrainian Catholic daily newspaper, America. I am an American citizen.

Mr. ARONS. Mr. Dushnyck and Mr. Bilinsky, you gentlemen are thoroughly conversant with both the Ukrainian and the English languages?

Mr. BILINSKY. That is correct.

Mr. DUSHNYCK. Yes, Mr.

Mr. ARONS. And you appear here as friend and translator for Mr. Stetsko, who does not speak English?

Mr. DUSHNYCK. Correct.

Mr. BILINSKY. Correct.

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Mr. ABRAHAM. The first question I normally pose in this type of proceeding, and which I shall now pose, is that the principal witness who is Mr. Stetsko in this case, give a word on his own personal background.

Mr. STETSKO. My name is Yaroslav Stetsko. I was born on January 18, 1912, in Ternopol, Ukraine, and attended there the grammar school and also graduated there from the gymnasium. In 1930, subsequently I studied law and philosophy at Lviv University.

From 1926 onwards I was an active member of the Ukrainian underground movement, at first in the Ukrainian Military Organization (OVO) and later in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Both organizations continued to struggle for attaining national independence lost in the early 1920's to the Russian Communist and other invaders of Ukraine.

For my patriotic activities I was arrested and imprisoned by the invaders in 1930, 1932, and 1933. In 1934 I was arrested for being the chief editor of the illegal periodicals of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and one of the leaders of the Western Ukrainian center of this organization.

During my activities in the liberation struggle, I made frequent visits to various European countries where I endeavored to organize political and material support for the Ukrainians fighting for their freedom. In August 1939, I prepared a political platform for the Second Congress of the OUN.

When the war between Germany and Russia broke out I entered the Ukraine, and on June 30, 1941, the Ukrainian National Assembly, under my presidency, proclaimed the independence of Ukraine.

On the same day I was elected Prime Minister by the same Ukrainian National Assembly. On July 12, 1941, I was arrested by the Gestapo and deported into Germany.

On September 15, 1941, I was sent to a concentration camp at Sachsenhausen, having refused Hitler's ultimatum to resign my office as Prime Minister of Free Ukraine and revoke the act of proclamation of Ukrainian independence. There I was imprisoned until September 30, 1944.

Released from concentration camp, I was again placed under tight police surveillance when I refused to cooperate with the Hitler government.

In December 1944, I fled from Berlin to Bratislava and from Bratislava to Vienna and from Vienna to Prague and from Prague to Munich. During my escape from the oncoming Russian armies, I was seriously wounded.

Meanwhile, in 1943, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was organized and rapidly developed into a powerful military and political force. In the fall of 1943 the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, under the leadership of Gen. Taras Chuprynka, called a conference of the liberation movement, in consequence of which the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was created with the sponsorship of the 13 nationalities.

In 1946 I was elected president of the Central Committee of ABN, as well as a member of the presidium of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists together with Gen. Taras Chuprynka and Stepan Bandera.

In 1961 I was elected the chairman of the OUN-Ukraine Abroad for the period of 2 years.

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In the meanwhile the ABN soon developed into a large anti-Communist force, attaining considerable organisational, political, and diplomatic success. Its membership grew so that presently it does include many national liberation organisations of 15 different nations; namely, Armenia, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, the Caucasus, Croatia, Slovakia, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Serbia, Turkistan, and Ukraine. Specifically, these nations are represented by the following organisations: The Committee for a "Free Armenia"; the Bulgarian National Front; the Byelorussian Central Council; the Czech National Liberation Movement; the Czech National Committee; the Estonian Liberation Movement; the Georgian National Front; the Hungarian Liberation Movement; the Hungarian National Minority Movement; the Latvian Association for the Struggle Against Communism; the Lithuanian Revival Movement; the Association of Serbian Nationalists; the Croatian National Liberation Movement; the Slovak Liberation Committee; the Turkistan National Unity Committee; the Ukrainian Hetman Union; and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.

In 1960 at a conference of the ABN with the Scottish League for European Freedom, the two participants resolved to stimulate their idea for a world anti-Communist movement.

Having this great idea in mind, I forwarded it since then to many nations during my several journeys to Free China, the Vietnam, Australia, Thailand, Hong Kong, Singapore, Turkey, Italy, Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, West Germany, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Mexico, Canada, and the United States.

In Taipei, Formosa, I met President Chiang Kai-shek, and concluded an agreement of cooperation between the ABN and the "Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China." In a common fight against communism and Russian imperialism.

In 1961, I signed a similar agreement of friendship and cooperation with the "Inter-American Confederation of the Defense of the United States," headed by Carlos Prats Botto, a Brazilian scholar, and Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurem, a Mexican statesman, with headquarters in Mexico City.

Simultaneously the ABN was active in Europe, where a body of action was established with influential United States, German, Italian, Spanish, and other anti-Communist organisations.

Finally, in March 1961, I took part in the Preparatory Conference in Mexico, when the headquarters of 60 nations resolved to organize a World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation.

The aim to establish a World Anti-Communist Congress, Mr. Anna, May I bring you to the nature and purpose of your visit to the United States.

Mr. Strazko. The purpose of my visit to the United States is triple: First, I came here to seek contacts with American anti-Communist organisations if possible; second, to seek the support for the planned World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation; I am a member of the Steering Committee of the World Anti-Communist Congress, of which Hon. Charles Edson, former Governor of the State of New Jersey, is chairman. The third purpose is to strengthen cooperation with all American organisations and is deriving their descent and origin from the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

An overall purpose is to win or gain the sympathy and support of the American public opinion for the movement for national liberation of all the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and communism; and for the full restoration of national sovereignty and independence not only for the so-called satellite nations, but also those nations which are in the Soviet Union proper.

Mr. Anna. Do you presently have sources of direct information in those countries which have been subjugated by Soviet Russia?

Mr. Strazko. We do have direct contact with liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain, particularly with the Ukrainian nationalist underground which is fighting freedom and independence.

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Mr. Azarov. How strong is the anti-Communist movement behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. Stratisco. This question could be answered under two aspects: First, in the ideological aspect and, second, in a practical application of their activities and actual possibilities of organizing a national revolution against the Communists and the Russian imperialists.

As far as ideological attitude is concerned, I could say most certainly that in the overwhelming majority the populations of these countries are inimical to the Communist regime, and this is particularly true in the case of the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian people, as a whole, reject communism and Russian imperialism as a foreign dominating force; and the same goes for other subjugated countries. Only a very small number who are in the leadership of the Communist Party support the regime. We call them the "Quislings of Moscow."

As proof that the resistance is very active, we might cite not only the overt outbreaks in Hungary, Poland, East Germany, and Ukraine, but we also have numerous proofs of large-scale resistance and strikes in concentration camps among prisoners in the U. S. S. R.

In 1933, 1934, 1935, and 1936, after the death of Stalin, there occurred large-scale uprisings in several concentration camps. This is something that the free world has yet to realize—that not only these people who are still free are fighting for their freedom but even prisoners in concentration camps are included in this all-encompassing anti-Russian and anti-Communist movement.

I might cite several resolutions which were passed by the non-Russian prisoners in one of the camps which they forwarded to the West, expressing concrete and specific demands.

Mr. Azarov. The documents which you have there, Mr. Stratisco, will be incorporated in this record by reference. How many people are in slave labor camps or concentration camps behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. Stratisco. We estimate over 13 million people.

Mr. Azarov. Do you have a breakdown of the present areas from which these 13 million people in slave labor camps are incarcerated?

Mr. Stratisco. There are an overwhelming majority from the non-Russian countries dominated by Soviet Russia, such as Ukraine, the Baltic countries, North Caucasus, Turkey, Georgia, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and others.

Mr. Azarov. And wherever they are incarcerated or imprisoned in these slave labor camps?

Mr. Stratisco. The great majority of them are in the Siberian complex and second in the Kazakhstan area. The best known and the largest are in Vorkuta, Norilsk, Kungur, Kadyms, Mordovia, Karaganda, Tashkent, and so forth.

We especially want to underscore that in Kungur (Kazakhstan), in June 1944, 500 Ukrainian women prisoners were slaughtered by 2 Russian army tanks when they went on strike. They had tried to protect other strikers and thought that maybe the guards, who were Russian security police, would respect women. We have a very detailed description of this massacre from a participant who came out in the West. He is Dr. F. Vaprony, a Hungarian doctor, who came back to West Germany and told us about this uprising.

Mr. Chaurman. If you are interested we could enclose the complete description. As a matter of fact we do have a complete situation map with location of slave labor camps. We will provide this map and all documents. We have an ethnographic map of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union made by our organization. (See maps at end of text.)

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Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetsko, you observed a few moments ago that most of the people in Ukraine are against the Communist regime. May I pose this rather simple and naive question: Why, then, if this is a fact, do the Communists maintain power?

Mr. STETSKO. First, the Communist regime in Ukraine is a modern form of Russian imperialism, and all power in Ukraine is maintained by the Russian occupation forces, especially the MVD, which rules by terror and which is an instrument of the central Russian Government in Moscow.

In no country behind the Iron Curtain was there a Communist revolution made by the peoples themselves, but always the revolution was brought by Russian bayonets as in Ukraine, Bulgaria, Poland, Turkistan, Hungary, and other countries. If there would be no Russian troops and Russian pressure in these countries, the people would never vote for a Communist government.

Mr. ARENS. Where is the hope of the forces of freedom to conquer the rising tide of communism?

Mr. STETSKO. The only hope to overcome this Communist tide is by a unified front of both the enslaved peoples and the free world. We contend that there is no unification of these forces; and while the enslaved peoples are fighting for the restoration of their rights as human beings, the free world is not doing a bit. Only with simultaneous national revolutions in the countries behind the Iron Curtain and with the support of the free world can communism be overcome and eventually defeated from within.

Only after the defeat of Russian imperialism, disintegration of the Russian Empire, and the restoration of national independence of the enslaved nations, can we have durable peace and security in the world.

Mr. ARENS. What effect on the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain do the international conferences have, in which the leaders of the free world and the leaders of the Kremlin sit down to negotiate?

Mr. STETSKO. The effect is totally negative because it demoralizes these people as they see in those conferences the approval by the West of their enslavement.

I believe very firmly that the principal goal of Russian foreign policy conducted by Khrushchev is to obtain the approval and sanction of the political status quo, which is highly in favor of Russia now. The Russians themselves cannot maintain the status quo at present inasmuch as the liberation forces are undermining their empire; therefore, they want to preserve their domination with the assistance of the free world.

Because the national liberation movements are still very strong, despite persecution, and the hope still persists that the West eventually might help the Russians by driving the free world toward the "summit" meeting are trying to quell that last hope that these enslaved people entertain.

Mr. ARENS. If, as you say, all that the Russians and the Kremlin want now is the status quo, what do we as a free people in the United States have to fear?

Mr. STETSKO. My answer to this is that the Russians will never be content with the status quo permanently. The status quo for them is only a stepping stone for further conquests of the free areas of the world.

When we look on the political map, it will show that in 1939 the political frontiers of the U. S. S. R. were very much smaller than they were in 1946 or are today in 1958. In a few years they will be God knows where, because Russia will always strive to expand; that is her nature.

Mr. ARENS. It is suggested, Mr. Stetsko, in some quarters that the free world is faced with one of two alternatives at the present time; namely, to negotiate at another "summit" meeting or to engage in an all-out war of staggering destruction. Do you see any possible third course for the free world?

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Mr. STRAKO. The straightest road and the most direct road to an atomic juggernaut war would lead through "peaceful coexistence," one manifestation of which is a future "summit" conference.

Mr. AARON. Why?

Mr. STRAKO. In my opinion the key problem in today's world is the enslaved nations, a powerful partner, which could help the free world from inside to dialogue and destroy the Russian Communist empire without atomic warfare.

By ignoring the enslaved nations as its partner, the free world, by conducting joint conferences, is actually negating this powerful force and inviting its own disaster by playing the Russian game. By so doing the free world is removing the third alternative, national liberation revolutions inside the Soviet Russian empire which should receive all possible active assistance from the free world.

By supporting these national liberation movements the West must be prepared to back them up not only morally, but materially and militarily as well; not like in Hungary when the chips came down and the West did not do anything.

The Russians could never drop atomic bombs on revolutionaries and freedom fighters behind the Iron Curtain because they will have their own occupation forces there guarding these Moscow-dominated countries.

I am quite convinced that sooner or later the West must be confronted with the necessity to wage an armed conflict with Communist Russia, which might be localized if the West will support the national revolutions of the enslaved nations.

Only a decisive policy, a policy of strength, could convince and deter the Russians from actually launching another war; not debating and negotiation.

Mr. AARON. How far is the Kremlin in its schedule for complete domination and control of this planet?

Mr. STRAKO. Russia has already attained sufficiently numerous springboards from which she could launch a final attack upon the free world.

Lenin once said that the road to Paris leads through New Delhi and Peking. Peking now is entirely in the Russian orbit, and New Delhi is half-and-half.

In the Middle East, in their plan to conquer the world, the Russians went so far as never before in history. Also in Korea they are realizing most of Communist Russia's policies in securing this vital bridgehead in the Far East. Today, Southeastern Asia is becoming their sphere of influence too.

Finally, through the fifth columns and various front organizations they succeeded in demoralizing considerable numbers of people everywhere, with results which we have just witnessed during the recent trip of Vice-President Richard M. Nixon of the United States in Latin America.

Mr. AARON. Can the free world coexist with the Soviet Russian empire?

Mr. STRAKO. Coexistence with Communist tyranny is not possible. The only coexistence Russia wants is a coexistence on her own terms, when the entire world is reduced to slavery like the people who live in the concentration camps.

Mr. Chairman, I would say that the nations enslaved by Russia present the main problem of the world politics. So far the policy of the free world is totally ineffective in regard to this problem; therefore, the West has to change it. I think that American policy should be oriented toward strengthening these forces of freedom which are behind the Iron Curtain; and the United States and the free world should totally negate, and not have any dealings with, the Russians and their Communist puppets.

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In order to implement this a series of important steps on an international scale should be taken: first, for example, the expulsion of the Soviet Union from the United Nations; breaking of diplomatic relations not only with the Soviet Union, but with all its satellites and breaking of all cultural and economic ties with the Communist world.

By doing so the United States will win the millions of new allies, true allies, behind the Iron Curtain, because they will see that America really stands for freedom and has no dealing and truck with Russian Communist oppressors.

In contrast to Russia, which has only her fifth column in the free world, the United States has entire nations as friends and allies behind the Iron Curtain. The United States should proclaim a universal charter of national independence for all the peoples enslaved by Communist Russia and her puppets. The more radical is the United States Government in its international dealing and policy, the less there is danger of an atomic war.

There is no doubt in my mind of the overall purpose of the present Soviet Russian leadership, which is the creation of the World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. Acheson. Mr. Speaker, would you give us your views on how and why the Russian Empire grew so rapidly?

Mr. Speaker. During and after World War II Russia achieved such a great number of new countries that she will not be able, without the support of the free world, especially the United States, to keep them under control for a considerable time. Prior to 1939 Russia had been under control the overwhelming part of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkmenia, the Caucasus, and other non-Russian lands, which she controlled with difficulty by suppressing the national liberation movements for independence through systematic terror, genocide, massacre, famine, concentration camps, and poison. Collectivization was nothing else but a refined method of enslaving the conquered nations on the one hand, and of militarizing the entire population on the other.

In order to cope with the perennial crises created by the permanent struggle and resistance of the enslaved nations, which not only resist Communism and Russian imperialism, but fight for their national independence, Russia from time to time needs a respite. Russia will obtain a respite from the free world if the latter accepts the Russian bid for "peaceful coexistence." In the past Russia has availed herself of such political "breathers," which in turn have enabled her to expand her ever growing territorial empire. In the last 500 years she expanded her ever growing territorial empire and conquests of Russia has grown enormously through annexations and conquests of non-Russian lands and territories.

Thus, chronologically speaking, Russia conquered:

	Approximate
In the XIVth century.....	314,000
In the XVth century.....	3,574,000
In the XVIth century.....	6,824,000
In the XVIIth century.....	9,864,000
In the XVIIIth century.....	9,944,000
In the XIXth century.....	9,620,000
In the XXth century (1945).....	19,070,000

It is estimated that for the last 500 years the Russian state has expanded at the rate of 40 square miles a day.

After the subjugation of Ukraine, which began reluctantly after the fatal Battle of Poltava in 1709, in which Peter I defeated King Charles XII of Sweden and Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa, Georgia fell in 1801, and was followed by the incorporation into Russia of Finland (1809), Northern Caucasus (it was subdued after 14 years of bloody fighting in 1864), and then Turkmenia and completed the conquest of Siberia, not to mention the seizure of Poland, Byelorussia, and Baltic lands, which preceded the Asian conquests.

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Mr. ARNS. Do you believe that the Western Powers in any way contributed to the growth of Russian imperialism?

Mr. STETAKO. Regrettably, the Western Powers have always been prone to provide Russia with respites and support, often motivated by their own political interests or by Russian promises of support of the same.

But the peoples and the lands which Russia acquired with the acquiescence and assistance of the Western Powers in the last 20 years for sheer size surpass everything Russia conquered previously. To digest these conquests in short order and with mortal convulsions is quite impossible, unless the Western World, and the United States in particular, willingly allows such digestion to take place by accepting the Russian offer of "peaceful coexistence."

The more Russia grabs of foreign lands, the more her internal situation becomes complex and difficult; the front of the enslaved nations is widened and the pressure of the Russian imperialist center must, of necessity, thin out. The number of the dominating Russian people does not increase proportionately with that of the non-Russian peoples who are added to the new empire; therefore, their hold upon the conquered nations cannot be so strong as before. Eighty to ninety million Russians cannot dominate as efficiently the Russian Communist empire of 1958 as they could dominate that of 1939, their proved methods of mass terror, deportation, and genocide notwithstanding. The strength of the Communist Quislings of the enslaved nations rests on the blades of the Russian bayonets. In consequence, without the West's assistance, Russia would be unable to maintain her vastly overextended colonial and slave empire.

We thus find Russia resorting to all sorts of international blackmail, creating dangerous and explosive situations or presenting the world with a policy of accomplished facts. We watch her creating the illusion of a peace-loving nation, while she makes tactical maneuvers aimed at the psychological disarmament of the West. However, her primary goal, conquest of the world, remains unchanged.

By withdrawing the Berlin Blockade in 1948, Moscow gained more than one advantage. First, by blockading Berlin, Russia forced the attention of the world upon the German capital, while at the same time she proceeded unhampered to complete the conquest of China. Furthermore, she was able to create a widespread illusion that the West accepted only too readily: "Russia does not want a war, Russia is willing to compromise." Eventually, we were presented with the "Korean compromise," and then with the "Vietnamese compromise," which, in fact, illustrated a classic Bolshevik tactic devised by Lenin: "One step backward in order to march two steps forward."

Mr. ARNS. Mr. Stetako, why is Communist Russia exerting such a powerful drive for a "summit" meeting at this time?

Mr. STETAKO. The powerful current Soviet Russian drive for a new "summit" conference is but another deceitful maneuver of Moscow. The Russian tyrants have amassed a variety of topics which they want discussed at the new "summit" conference: disarmament, control of thermonuclear weapons, and "peaceful coexistence," all of which are being presented as an alternative to all-out war. Yet the overall purpose of these maneuvers is only too well known: to force the United States and the entire free world to recognize the political status quo of the Russian looting and the Russian colonial empire in its present-day boundaries, and to compromise the United States in the eyes of the enslaved nations as coguarantor and supporter of the validity of the present Russian Communist empire. In so doing, the United States and the free world would become synonymous with the Russian enslavers, and the good name of the United States as a defender of the freedom of individuals and the independence of nations would be a thing of the past.

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The key problem of world politics today is that of the enslaved nations, especially those kept in Russian captivity. As a matter of fact, world politics revolve around them, and for them the struggle ever goes on.

East Germany belongs to this category of the enslaved nation, as does North Korea and North Vietnam. There is no doubt that the liberation of East Germany or North Korea and North Vietnam could be effectuated only with the disintegration of the Russian Empire, which is the last remaining great empire in the world. Also liberated would be Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and the other non-Russian nations enslaved in the U. S. S. R., not to mention the liberation of the more recent requisitions, the so-called satellites—Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia, Bohemia, and the others. One can hardly conceive of any local liberation, effected through some evolutionary method ("mellowing out process"). You cannot stop Russia halfway: either you destroy the Soviet Russian empire, or it will conquer you and the entire world. There is no hope for, or possibility of, achieving a victory over the Soviet Russia without the liberation of the enslaved nations dominated and enslaved by Moscow.

This is well known to the Russian Communist leaders, particularly to Khrushchev, who on every possible occasion stresses that the U. S. S. R. will not discuss the problem of Eastern Europe at any "summit" meeting that might be called in the future. He repeats, Moscow has no other purpose in calling a new "summit" meeting than that of obtaining an assurance, a pledge from the United States and the free world at large, that the status quo is inviolable, and that in the event of national revolutions behind the Iron Curtain—such as the Berlin uprising, the Poznan rebellion, the Hungarian revolution, or the Ukrainian revolts in the Soviet Russian concentration camps—the United States will observe a strict neutrality and "will not interfere in the domestic affairs" of the U. S. S. R.

It is not at all impossible that the Russian tyrants might be dreaming of a new "Holy Alliance" of the Great Powers, who would pledge themselves to a common action against the enslaved nations and their national liberation revolutions. Certainly Khrushchev well remembers how the Czarist Russian armies helped to suppress the Hungarian revolution of Kossuth in 1848.

Thus the major moves of Soviet Russian foreign policy are dictated by two principal considerations:

1. The pressure and incessant opposition mustered by the national liberation movements of the enslaved nations;
2. The ever-increasing power of the defense and military capabilities of the free world under the leadership of the United States.

Russia would score a major victory if President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan agree to sit at the same table with Khrushchev and Mikoyan, the international murderers and genocidists. Hope and faith in the truth would assuredly suffer a mortal blow, not only on the part of the enslaved nations but ultimately on the part of the whole free world.

In his own time Lenin urged the Bolsheviks to employ every possible trick in order to disarm the "capitalist world," including holding of as many conferences and diplomatic parleys as possible. These would serve, Lenin advised, to confuse the Western diplomats and thus make them less resistant to the Russian pressures.

Mr. Azurs. Mr. Stetsko, in your opinion does the fear of a thermonuclear war justify a new "summit" conference?

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Mr. STETKO One of the phenomena capitalized upon by the Russians is the horror of thermonuclear war. This vision of future war, the Russian know, has already created vertiable panic among the Western nations, a condition which eases them forward to the Russian trap. The fear of atomic war is so great that many in the West are inclined to forget the whole infamous record of Russian treacheries and blackmail, broken promises, and shattered diplomatic pacts.

On the other hand, if the "summit" conference could not materialize because of a Western refusal to accept the Russian terms, specifically refusal to accept as final the enslavement of the nations in the satellite countries and in the U. S. S. R. itself, this would constitute a tremendous victory for the West. Such a refusal cannot but strengthen the resistance movements behind the Iron Curtain and so would run directly counter to Krushchev's plan of consolidating the Russian Communist empire as it now exists.

And yet the West not only is in possession of the superior thermonuclear weapons, but it has something the Russians can never destroy: priceless freedom.

If the counterattack of the West would be directed at the winning of the sympathies and loyalties of the enslaved nations, rather than that of the murderers of the Kremlin, the result of the cold war would be quite different and, to be sure, advantageous for the West. The Russians, we find from history, understand only one language, the language of threat and force.

Moreover, were the Western leaders possessed of more courage, they would openly declare if another "summit" conference does take place that in the event of an atomic war, they will direct it against the Russian state proper, and not against the non-Russian nations, both in the U. S. S. R. and in the satellite countries. Such clear and unmistakable language would have an incalculable effect upon the enslaved countries—Ukraine, the Caucasus, Hungary, Poland, Turkistan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Slovakia, and others.

We must not forget that in our struggle against Russia we should not only think in terms of technical superiority but we should also try, equally positively, to diminish the human potential and the reservoir of the vast Russian-controlled armies by attempting to win them over to our cause. At present there is no possible doubt that, from the viewpoint of manpower, the Soviet Union with Red China and satellites is superior to the West; hence the course of the political program of the West is obvious. In 1941, it is to be recalled, some 2 to 3 million soldiers deserted from the Soviet armies and went over to the Germans voluntarily, hoping that by doing so they were helping to fight their oppressors, the Russian Communists, for the liberation of their enslaved countries.

Also, the Western Powers, especially the United States, in their "policy of liberation" tend to limit their pronouncements to the satellite countries complex exclusively, thus leaving the first victims of Russian communism, the enslaved nations in the U. S. S. R., outside the sphere of their political interest.

Mr. ANAYA From what position, Mr. Stetko, should the West combat the Russian Communist totalitarianism, if you think that a new "summit" meeting is detrimental?

Mr. STETKO Our struggle against Russian Communist totalitarianism can be waged only in the name of eternal and absolute values, truth and freedom pitted against the enslavement, persecution, and the totalitarian domination of Moscow. Communism is the faith of evil, and a dynamic movement of the Devil which must be opposed not merely by technical weapons, but by moral values and human dignity as well.

16 ZY MONO SECTION

The Western World—at least, some of its leading powers—have relinquished their colonial possessions and given way to the emancipation of the once colonial peoples. The only remaining empire in the world today is the Russian Communist empire.

The U. S. S. R. as the basic empire of Moscow is a powerful threat today simply because it dominates vastly extended areas, which it exploits for the purpose of continued aggrandizement and expansion. This threat would be removed in the moment the Russian Empire ceased to exist as such. Moreover, all the enslaved nations, once liberated from the Russian Communist yoke, would not only deprive Russia of powerful economic and human resources, but would be great contributing factors toward a stable peace and security in the world. None of these nations would be in a position to manufacture the atomic weapons, inasmuch as they would be expending all their efforts in building up their own welfare and prosperity, rather than in seeking foreign conquests and domination, as does Russia today.

Any other approach would surely lead to appeasement, as best exemplified by the English philosopher, Bertrand Russell, who said the other day that he would rather accept Communist slavery than resist it, inasmuch as the latter course might touch off an atomic war.

The "summit" conference, we think, is a political matter. But there are other imponderables in the development of political events that have an equally important significance, perhaps even greater than the stockpiling of A- and H-bombs. In the present game the worst possible thing that could happen is to lose one's moral position. This is well known to perfidious Russia; and therefore she deceitfully juggles with such phrases as "integral liberty," "social justice," and "independence of nations," although all who are familiar with Russia's history know all this to be sheer nonsense. But the systematic repetition of these slogans leaves an imprint on people's minds and undermines the opposition to Russia, especially in the so-called neutral nations on this side of the Iron Curtain. It is immoral to condone any crime; it is also immoral to enslave the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R.: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan, the Co-sock lands, Northern Caucasus, Armenia, and others. Yet the Western World seems to be inclined to forget these nations and their enslavement by Russia, so long as the Russian Communist leaders stop rattling their atomic or nuclear sabers. Only those with invulnerable moral positions can expect to win in this struggle for survival; no halfway measures or compromises can bring an equitable and just solution to world problems.

Therefore, the "summit" conference and its agenda, which is supposed to deal with the problems of the global struggle between opposing forces, should be viewed not only in its political and military aspect, but in the light of moral and ideological principles as well. It has a direct relation to the fate of the enslaved nations, the acknowledged ally of the free world in the struggle against Russia. The prisoner in prison wants freedom more than he wants bread. The enslaved and oppressed man is more sensitive to injustice and slavery than the free man. And those who themselves suffered are likely to find a better way of reaching the minds of those who are oppressed now. There is no force in the world more dynamic than the yearning of people for freedom and independence. People will hardly die for bread or for some material luxuries, yet they are willing to sacrifice everything for their freedom. The West has a glorious opportunity to dynamically propagate the day of general freedom and liberation that is to come to all nations and people.

17 ZY MONO SECTION

The Geneva summit conference 3 years ago was a devastating blow to the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain, because the Kremlin, recognizing its superior propaganda potential, trapped the West into recognizing the status quo. The Russian tyrants, Khrushchev and Bulganin, attained a diplomatic victory when they succeeded in convincing President Eisenhower to withdraw his proposal, which had been inserted in the agenda, dealing with the problem of the enslavement of the satellite countries. Then followed a recognition on the part of the West of the "sincere desire" of the Kremlin leaders for general peace and security in the world. And yet these same men, Khrushchev and Bulganin, were the right-hand henchmen of Stalin in his brutal program of genocide and destruction of entire peoples.

Furthermore, we must not forget, that without a common front with the enslaved nations, the free world can never achieve a victory over bolshevism. Russia is doing everything possible to wedge apart these two freedom-loving forces. The ideals of freedom and national independence are stronger than the atomic bomb. They constitute the most disruptive force which, with the all-out support of the free world, can successfully shatter the Russian prison of nations from within.

These facts should not be underestimated by the free world. During the Korean war, in which the powerful United States and the entire United Nations participated, there were no internal revolutions behind the Iron Curtain, because the enslaved nations had lost confidence in and hope for any assistance from the West. On the other hand, after the death of Stalin and the liquidation of Beria, a series of strikes and uprisings erupted in concentration camps, creating a very conducive atmosphere for a general revolution. It is an undeniable fact that the enslaved nations are beginning to rely more and more on their own strength rather than on assistance from the West. The general fear prevails that a new "summit" conference may widen this chasm between the enslaved nations and the West, which has already lost a great deal of its original prestige through the bungling of the Hungarian uprising in the fall of 1956.

Mr. ARNOLD. From your expression it would appear that the psychological warfare of the West is ineffective. Would you be willing to comment on its shortcomings?

Mr. STETSKO. The much heralded psychological warfare effort of the West and the general lack of any planning of Western propaganda broadcasting are so evident that one can scarcely talk seriously of any Western propaganda.

History discloses that no country has ever gained anything by sitting down at the same table with the Russian leaders. We recall the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the conferences of Yalta and Potsdam, the 10-month-old coexistence of Chiang Kai-shek with Mao Tse-tung, and so on. Any attempt to appease Russia necessarily evokes defeatism in the eyes of the free world and demoralizes the honest people everywhere who cannot conceive of decent diplomats negotiating with the Russian murderers. One cannot neglect the moral principles in this gigantic game for survival, inasmuch as no conference can ever solve the problems that create conflict with Russia.

Mr. ARNOLD. Mr. Stetsko, we would appreciate your views on NATO and disarmament from the viewpoint of the Russian psychological warfare.

Mr. STETSKO. One of the primary goals of Russian foreign policy is the dissolution of the NATO military and defensive alliance and the removal of United States troops and bases from Europe and North Africa. All sorts of Russian machinations are being employed toward accomplishing this purpose, such as the proposal for the creation of "neutral" and "demilitarized" zones, all of which tend to render Western Europe defenseless. The Russians hope to achieve this objective at the "summit" conference.

18 ZY MONO. SECTION

The disarmament talks can surely lead to no positive result, if the cause of armament is not removed. Otherwise disarmament talks serve only as propaganda channels for the Russians, whereby they make deep impressions upon the "neutral" and noncommitted nations which see in the Russian proposals a "genuine" approach toward achieving world peace.

The present status quo must undergo a thorough change, if the nuclear armament race is to stop. As long as it remains unchanged, the armament race must go on, since otherwise the free world would be conquered eventually by Communist Russia. Armament is also necessary to help in the liberation of the enslaved nations from Russian domination; the enslavement of these nations by Russia is in great measure due to the faulty and incredibly irrational policy of the Western nations.

Although the Western nations entertain no aggressive designs and are arming themselves for the purpose of their own defense, and do not support the liberation movements of the enslaved nations, as was so amply demonstrated in the case of the Hungarian revolution, Russia is arming for purely aggressive purposes and is organizing her fifth columns the world over for the "day." As long as a free West exists, Russia cannot but press for its destruction, simply because the ideals of freedom menace the Russian despotic empire. Russia is confronted with a harsh set of alternatives: either the entire world will be free or it will be conquered by her. Thus all the conferences and the diplomatic bargaining with the West serve only to confuse the world, so as to make it easier for Moscow to conquer it.

The road to disarmament does not lead through conferences, but through liberation. Disarmament will never bring liberation. On the contrary, it will enable Russia to conquer the entire world. The superiority of Russia in conventional armaments makes the discussion on thermonuclear armaments useless, inasmuch as Russia could never be trusted in the matter of the strict control of atomic disarmament or its limitation. Strict control will always be impossible for the Russian Empire, since it is based on a totalitarian and despotic system which precludes the possibility of such a voluntary control. The inherent nature of Russian totalitarian tyranny does not accept, and cannot accept, any control by an international body. Hermetically sealed isolation and the absence of any control are the essential elements of the Russian despotic system, which could not be democratized, as such a process would mean suicide. This most elementary factor in Russian behavior is totally ignored by the West; without an understanding of this element, one can hardly begin to grasp the essence and meaning of bolshevism.

Russia today is governed by Communists, who are the heirs of the Czarist regime. Communism is not an international movement which usurped the power in Russia and in other countries; communism represents a new philosophy adopted by Russians which, in every vital respect, is for Russian imperialism more successful, intellectually stronger, and more creative than ideas of Czarism (Orthodoxy, Pan-Slavism, etc.) ever were. Bolshevism, which is a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, aspires to world conquest, in which endeavor it is supported by the Russian people, a fact which is corroborated by Nicholas Berdyaev, an outstanding Russian philosopher. In his book, *The New Middle Ages*, Berdyaev wrote on the subject of bolshevism:

Bolshevism is a distorted and subversive realization of the Russian idea, and for this reason it has triumphed.

Bolshevism is in keeping with the mentality of the Russian nation; it is merely an expression of the spiritual disunion of this nation, of its apostasy of faith, its religious crisis, and its extreme demoralization. Bolshevik ideas are completely in keeping with Russian nihilism.

19 ZY

MONO. SECTION

Doesn't really say the prophet of the Russian revolution and he realized that socialism in Russia is a religious problem, a question of faith, and that the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia is not concerned with politics but solely with the question of saving mankind without God.

The Russian emigre are not sufficiently aware of the fact that in the case of the Russian problem, it is by no means a question of a small group of Bolsheviks who happen to be in power and who can be overthrown, but of a new and far larger class of persons who have now become the rulers of the country and cannot be easily overthrown. The Communist revolution has, above all, materialized out of Russian life.

Therefore, all speculations on Russia's agreement to a successful international control and inspection of armaments are more wishful thinking. All the noise around the alleged suspension of thermonuclear tests in the U. S. S. R. is designed to serve as a smokescreen and a propaganda stunt to impress the neutral nations and to lessen the resistance against Russia in the West. The opportunistic and unthinking leaders of some Western European countries are so critical of these Russian maneuvers that they would readily countenance the removal of American troops from Europe and the dismantlement of NATO in the futile belief that such moves would appease the Russians and thus banish the danger of an atomic war.

There are no words to express the extreme danger of such thinking and assumptions. We do not have to dwell upon the moral and psychological impact such moves would have upon Western Europe's morale. But from the viewpoint of the military situation, it would invite conventional Russian arms to be put to the test; Western Europe could be invaded by the Russians in a matter of hours. Western Europe would be abandoned by the Russians in a matter of hours. Western States bases from Europe works for the interest of Russia, knowingly or unknowingly.

Mr. ALEXIS. Mr. Skeels, do you believe that atomic disarmament is inadvisable because Communist Russia is superior in conventional arms? What is the equivalent that the West possesses to offset this Russian superiority?

Mr. STRATTON. The West should seek a counterpart to Russia's superiority in conventional armaments, because a situation is being created in which Russia can wage a war with conventional arms, while the United States would have to resort to nuclear weapons eventually. As a result the free world, and the United States especially, would have to be the first to use the thermonuclear weapons. But the free world does possess weapons in the form of the nuclear nations which have Russian arms in their hands. In the final hour of last, the enslaved nations can turn with their arms against their oppressors and alongside the freedom-loving West.

In this respect I fully subscribe to the views of my friend, Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, the well-known British military authority with whom I had several informative and exhaustive talks on this subject. General Fuller gave his view in a brilliant fashion:

No power the world has ever seen has been more vulnerable for internal attack than the Bolshevik empire. It is not a national State, but a State of nationalities. As Theodore Mommsen wrote nearly a century back: "The Russian Empire is a dustbin that is held together by the rusty hoop of Czarism." Hence that hoop and its imperium is at an end. When last autumn the Hungarians rose against their oppressors, the shock to the Kremlin was so great, I am convinced, that had America and Great Britain given a provisional government into Hungary, which on a national level they had failed upon them for military support, rather than that a nuclear war the Russians would have evacuated Hungary. The reason should be obvious. It is clear the Kremlin is living on a volcano, and it knows that the more explosive forces in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its long

20 ZY MONO SECTION

Because both America and Great Britain realize that they cannot hope to rival Russian fighting manpower, they have decided to make good their deficiency in it by relying on what they call tactical nuclear weapons; in other words, less powerful nuclear weapons than atomic and hydrogen bombs, which they call strategic nuclear weapons. This is to tackle the problem the wrong way round. The correct solution is not to increase weapon power, but to reduce Russian superiority in manpower, and so indirectly increase Western manpower. This can be done by subverting the Russian fighting forces, which are largely recruited from the subjugated peoples within the U. S. S. R. and the satellite countries. Be it remembered that during the first few months of Hitler's invasion of Soviet Union in 1941 well over 2 million prisoners were claimed by the Germans. This is an unbelievable figure until it is realized that the vast majority of these men were deserters—Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Georgians, Turbistanians, and other subjugated peoples.

The policy of liberation would not only not provoke an atomic warfare, but it is an argument of the most explosive force, of which Russia is always afraid. When in the summer of 1941 the Russian Communist leaders found out that Hitler refused to recognize a newly established Ukrainian national government on June 30, 1941, in Lviv, Western Ukraine, they were elated. They then waited to see what would happen when Hitler took Kiev, the ancient capital and center of Ukrainian history and culture. When in Kiev Hitler also repeated his insane policy of suppressing Ukrainian aspirations for freedom and independence, the Russians were all but certain that the Germans had lost the war. It was not Stalingrad that was the graveyard of Hitler's ambition of dominating all Europe, says a German general, but Hitler's incredible policy in Ukraine, and the fact that in Kiev, instead of the blue-and-yellow Ukrainian national colors, the Nazis hoisted their swastika.

A similar situation exists today, despite the fact that history provides instructive lessons how not to handle the Russian problem.

Mr. ARMS. Do you see, Mr. Stetsko, any alternative to atomic warfare?

Mr. STETSKO. The national liberation revolutions behind the Iron Curtain are the only alternative to an atomic war. If the free world is afraid of an atomic and nuclear war and will not start a thermonuclear Armageddon against Russia, then it must elect the only alternative it has: the support of the national independence movements of the peoples enslaved by Russia. There is no third way. "Peaceful coexistence" would lead to the acceptance of the political status quo, which would sanction all the conquests of Moscow and would in turn enhance the prospects of further Russian aggressions in Europe and Asia. To hope that a "political evolution" within the Soviet Russian empire would lead to a gradual disintegration and collapse of the Soviet power is sheer wishful thinking, leading to disaster.

Only disintegration of the Russian Empire, which could take place only through an anti-imperialist and anti-Communist revolution, can eventually effectuate the elimination of the Russian danger forever.

Anti-Russian forces are in existence behind the Iron Curtain; there are millions of non-Russians in the Soviet army with arms in their hands who would not hesitate to use them against their Russian oppressors at a proper moment.

The ideals of freedom and independence are stronger than atomic and hydrogen bombs. The West possesses in its hands this powerful weapon, which the Russians do not have, but which they are employing deceptively in propagandizing the Asian and African peoples. What the West must do is to properly utilize it toward the objective which can be accepted by all the peoples of the world: genuine freedom and liberation from Russian Communist tyranny and oppression. Mr. Kennah's "disengagement" thesis is as dangerous as Khrushchev's "peaceful coexistence" proposal.

In his article, "What the Kremlin Fears Most," Gen. J. F. O. Fuller writes:

21 ZY HONO SECTION

Bismarck in the Atlantic Port is to be found the only potential first front against Russia, so the A. B. N. . . . is the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategic fulcrum of the Western Front, the one being as essential as the other for either one without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim—not the containment of communism, but the complete elimination of bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world.

Mr. Aserin, Mr. Slavko, coming back to the Russian drive for "peaceful coexistence," what is your opinion of the so-called "cultural exchange" program between the Western nations and the Communist East?

Mr. Slavko: The integral part of the "peaceful coexistence" policy is the so-called "cultural exchange" between the Soviet Union and the West. In point of fact, the "cultural exchange" is one of the forms of Communist infiltration in the West. The Russians are provided with unlimited opportunities to propagate their views, such as the American TV program of Nikita Khrushchev, but no such opportunities for the Americans exist in the Soviet Union. Even if this particular opportunity were provided, it would mean little. Only privileged Communists own TV sets in the U. S. S. R., and they know what life in the United States is like anyway. Furthermore, one can hardly compare the methods of propaganda in the free world with those existing in a totalitarian country. We must distinguish between a cultural exchange among democratic states, where there exist equal and objective opportunities and equal situation, and a cultural exchange with a totalitarian country. The Russians, as a rule, accept only such visitors from the West who are not making the least bit of kidding for confirmation of their illusions about the "Communist Paradise." These would be content with the "Polish village," or at least would try to justify the "assassination" of the Boyer system. The sections of truth would be shown a few exemplary collective farms and a "model prison," as was the case with German propaganda some time ago. Upon their return these German "representatives" created such propaganda material about the "terrible conditions" in the U. S. S. R. that the German Communists could never hope to equal it in terms of good for the Russian cause.

The so-called cultural and artistic groups which Moscow is sending out into the free world will impress a number of Americans and other Westerners by their artistic performance and "cultural" appearance. This in turn will create a doubt in the minds of the American people as to whether communism is an evil after all, since it produces such superb artistic performance and actors.

With its "cultural exchange" program Moscow implements its policy of "peaceful coexistence"; it is directed by Moscow and is limited to such an extent as is beneficial to the Russians. One of the forms of the "cultural exchange" is to often the anti-Communist and anti-Russian attitude of the West. Abroad, the Soviet Government is pursuing a policy of "peaceful coexistence" and amity; inside the U. S. S. R., the Communist-controlled press is continuing the systematic anti-American campaign of slander and vilification.

On the other hand, the attitude of the non-Russian nations, in both the U. S. S. R. and the satellite countries, is wholly pro-American, and never anti-American. In point of fact, the enslaved nations are always friendly toward the United States, inasmuch as they know that the United States is not a colonial power. Any resentment that may exist usually stems from the fact that the United States was led into a trap set by the Russians and is conducting a policy which is not favorable to the liberation of the enslaved nations. They can be annoyed by the content of the United States propaganda broadcasting.

22 ZY MONO SECTION

The enslaved nations, with their misery, hunger, slavery, perpetual fear of arrest and deportation, and the like, are not disposed to listen to accounts of the American way of life, the high standard of living, civil liberties, and so forth. How do the enslaved nations benefit from such broadcasting? Are these good things, enjoyed by the American people, to be transferred to the enslaved nations once a new "summit" conference is held? On the contrary, these enslaved nations believe that such a conference with the Russians, their oppressors and tormentors, would strengthen their hold over them and only perpetuate their misery and enslavement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetsko, would you care to comment on the "Voice of America"?

Mr. STETSKO. We in Europe have been astounded by reports that the "Voice of America" was planning to eliminate broadcasting in the non-Russian languages destined for the Soviet Union, and to concentrate all its propaganda efforts in the Russian language only. This would really be a mistake.

It is true that the broadcasts of the "Voice of America" in the various non-Russian languages to the U. S. S. R. were extremely weak and, as a rule, ineffectual. The enslaved peoples had been hoping that eventually these broadcasts would evolve into an outright support of the national liberation movements of these peoples. They waited to hear, through the "Voice of America," that the American people and the United States Government are in sympathy and accord with the struggle for national statehood and independence. This never came. But at least the broadcasting in the various non-Russian languages implied a tacit recognition on the part of the United States Government of these separate entities, the non-Russian Republics of the U. S. S. R.

If the broadcasts are eliminated, then the non-Russian peoples would have to listen to the Russian-language broadcasts, which is the language of their oppressor and enslaver. This would necessarily imply that the United States is against the national liberation of the non-Russian nations, and that America in fact supports the Russian Empire, a "one and indivisible Russia," as advocated by Russian imperialists of all hues and colors. It would convince these nations more and more that the United States is fighting solely for a change of the Communist regime in the U. S. S. R., and not for the destruction of the Russian imperialist structure.

"The Voice of America" shies away from even mentioning the term "national independence" in its broadcasts to the non-Russian peoples in the U. S. S. R. This is apparently not to "offend" the sensitivities of the Russian people who, as is well known, constitute a minority in the U. S. S. R.

A few years ago Khrushchev removed Leonid Melnikov from his post as Secretary General of the Communist Party of Ukraine for his overzealous Russification of Western Ukraine. Even for such a brutal despot and genocidist as Khrushchev, a forcible Russification program in the Ukraine was out of line. And the free world, particularly the United States, would seem to be following even a more reactionary course by resorting to the use of the Russian language in its psychological warfare.

A few years ago a critical appraisal of the "Voice of America" was submitted to the Department of State by Maj. L. Pottava of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), chief of the Information Bureau of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council and member of the Supreme Council of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Major Pottava called the attention of the United States Government to a vital weakness of the "Voice of America." The weakness is the neglect by the "Voice of America" to use one of the most powerful arguments against Russian Communist imperialism: the ideal of national independence of the non-Russian nations enslaved in the U. S. S. R.

23 ZY

MONO SECTION

At the present state of world politics, the United States should strengthen its psychological warfare, especially the "Voice of America," by stressing the national emancipation and independence of the subjugated nations. If it be necessary to curtail the "Voice of America" radio broadcasts, then the Russian-language broadcasts should be shortened. To broadcast only in the Russian language to the non-Russian nations is deliberately to antagonize those peoples and to help them to be led into the Russian camp, inasmuch as the Russians have been telling them all along that the United States is their "enemy" and only Moscow is their "friend and protector."

Mr. AARNS. Mr. Stetko, it would appear that you are inclined to give a priority to the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. in our psychological warfare rather than the Russians? Why is that?

Mr. STETKO. It is absurd to believe that the Russian people would ever side with the United States against the present Russian Empire and that they would help in the disintegration of the structure. History proves that the Russians always preferred despotism to freedom. They have always been exalted with their Messianism and their mission to "make other peoples happy." In the past they were "protectors of Orthodoxy" and exerted pressure upon Turkey (Ottoman Empire) to "liberate their Orthodox brethren." Subsequently, they realized a policy of "protecting the Slavs" (Pan-Slavism), but this did not prevent them from persecuting and enslaving the other Slavic peoples—the Ukrainians, Poles, or Byelorussians. Now the Russians are set on "liberating the proletariat of the world" and on bringing "liberation" to the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa, as well as "defending the Islamic peoples" from the whims of "Western imperialism," and so forth.

The only effective weapon that the United States and the free world in general can successfully utilize with respect to the U. S. S. R. lies in appealing to the non-Russian nations and in supporting their unending struggle for their national freedom and independence.

If, on the other hand, the Western nations are to recognize the present status quo, they must be prepared for Russian demands in the near future for additional "spheres of influence" and "additional guarantees" of their uncontested supremacy in the entire world. If the United States rejects these Russian demands, then logically it ought pursue the other alternative in the first place: full support of the enslaved nations. Such support is unchallengeable. Moscow has been championing the cause of "liberation" of the Asian and African peoples, although its interest in them is strictly utilitarian. Any Russian assistance to them will ultimately end in their enslavement by Moscow.

There are, in my way of thinking, the proper approaches toward the Russian dilemma which should be fully emphasized by the official United States broadcasting media, such as the "Voice of America." And, I repeat, the proper assessment of the value and importance of the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R. could not but lead the United States and other free countries of the West toward supporting them in their political struggle, inasmuch as their struggle is also the struggle of the free world.

There has been an ocean of criticism of the shortcomings of Western propaganda broadcasts, and I would not like to indulge in such here. Mr. AARNS. Mr. Stetko, would you care to discuss the actual significance of Russian Sputniks?

Mr. STETKO. I cannot fail to point out how much Russia gained, propagandewise, by masterfully propagandizing its Sputniks. They astonished the entire world and almost tipped the balance scale of world sympathy over to Moscow. The significance of the Sputniks, as we can now see, seems to be more important in the political propaganda field than in the technical. True, we should not underestimate the enemy and his vast war potentialities. But we must not be led into believing that Russia has already achieved a technological superiority over the United States and that, accordingly, the free world ought to agree to Russia's political domination and blackmail. And yet we see just that in many of the countries of Western Europe and, irregularly, in the case of the United States as well.

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The danger of Russia lies not in her actual strength, but in Western ignorance of her personal and unbridgeable weakness. The effect of the Sputnik could easily be counterbalanced by proper exploitation of U. S. R. internal weaknesses and flaws, as we know them to be great and many-sided. The West should not forget that the Sputnik was produced at the sacrifice of millions of lives and the untold misery of the enslaved peoples. Moreover, it was the German scientists captured after the fall of Germany who were principally responsible for producing the Soviet earth satellite. In fact, Sputnik is by no means any indicator of the superiority of the general Soviet technology, a view which Moscow hopes gains the greatest circulation, especially among the Asian and African nations.

Of course, in rejecting the Russian claim in the matter of Sputnik's alleged "originality," we do not wish to belittle the Russian achievements in the field of military science and in those branches of industry which could easily be converted into media of mass destruction. But, here, too, we must not forget for a moment that over laboring for Russia are unknown Blanes, Fuchses, and Rosenbergs, who stand highly classified military and scientific secrets from the Western Powers. These are transmitted systematically to Moscow, where they are being analyzed and put to use. Moreover, the Soviet system employs literally millions of political slave laborers on huge and secret Soviet military developments and projects. The resources and raw materials for these projects are being taken from the occupied non-Russian lands.

Mr. Acheson. We understand, Mr. Speaker, that you made extensive trips to the Far East. We would appreciate your assessment of Russian political strategy and subversive actions in Asia.

Mr. Stettin. Communism is being marketed and propagated under slogans which have nothing at all in common with the Communist's doctrine. The slogans deal with national independence, self-determination and anticolonialism, right to private landownership for peasants, the freedom of the Islamic and other religions, and so forth. According to the instructions of the Communist Party, Communist subversion is effectively ruled by national revolutionary slogans, patriotic passions, and remodeled catchwords of the French Revolution in social aspects. The local Communist Parties have been ordered to make a "communist front" with non-Communist patriotic parties, in order to deceive the people and seize the power, after which, of course, a Communist government is mounted. These tactics were extensively employed, e. g., China or Vietnam. The Russian Communist rules follow the precept of Lenin, who preached that the road to Paris leads through Peking and Delhi. But Lenin was not the only Russian leader who paid a good deal of attention to Asia. Czar Nicholas II also considered it a "necessary" to annex Korea and thus solidify the Russian position in the Far East. To this day the imperialist Russian line is being ardently pursued by the Bolsheviks.

Russian imperialism and colonialism in the Middle East is marked by deceitful and pseudo-progressive slogans. Its tactics are very clear and totally facile, making effective opposition difficult.

Western psychological warfare efforts in the Middle East and in the other areas marked by Russian penetration can be successful only when the attack on communism will be coupled with an attack on traditional Russian imperialism and colonialism, which comes to involve the Asian and African peoples in the guise of communism.

25 ZY MONO SECTION

Russian dominates approximately 40 million Moslems. She is availing herself of the services of Moslem quislings from Turkestan for agitation among the Islamic population, which numbers some 350 million people outside the U. S. S. R.

Mr. ARKNS. Could you say anything, Mr. Stetako, on Russian Communist propaganda among the Moslems outside the Soviet Union?

Mr. STETAKO. The Soviet radio in Tashkent, where the Russians seem to have concentrated extremely powerful propaganda facilities, broadcasts in some 90 languages and dialects to the Moslem people in Asia and Africa. This vast propaganda work is being done by Russians who very frequently are disguised as "local Moslems."

Significantly, during my travels in Asia I never heard of any systematic propaganda effort of the United States in these areas, to effect the Russian drive; yet perhaps there is such an effort. If so, it cannot be a very great one.

Every year Moscow sends hundreds of its Moslem Quislings on the "pilgrimage" to Mecca, by which it creates the impression among the Moslems outside the U. S. S. R. that complete freedom of religion is accorded the Islamic peoples in the Soviet Union. In addition, the Russians for years have been operating through the so-called "Soviet Solidarity Committee of Asian Countries," which has been very successful in spreading Russian imperialism and communism throughout Asia and Africa. This was attested to by Veli Kayum-Khan, president of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee and vice president of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), who has made extensive visits to the Middle East in the last few months. He said that the absence of any American propaganda was in great measure responsible for the rapid spread of communism. The local populations do not know the policies and intentions of the United States, and whatever notions they possess are gained from Russian sources, which are always evidently anti-American.

The Russians pose in the Middle East as "protectors of independence and freedom." They smuggle in expert agents and propagandists, especially Moslem priests. They do not propagate communism outright, but conduct lengthy (and slanted) discussions on religious and philosophical themes, talk loftily about the "solidarity and independence of the peoples of Asia and Africa," and propagate books and pamphlets printed in Tashkent and Samarkand (U. S. S. R.). Moreover, the "Red Pilgrims" to Mecca bring appropriate letters and "greeting" to Turkestanian emigres from their relatives in the Soviet Union, and declare that they are "not interested" in politics, but are interested, as Red mullahs, in spreading the "truth about the religious situation in the Soviet Union."

Moscow has launched a new political and religious slogan for the Moslem: "Every Moslem could be a Communist and every Communist could be a Moslem as well, inasmuch as we are not against God and the Prophet."

Regrettably, the Western diplomatic circles in these countries live in complete isolation, away from the local populations, which are subjected to the systematic Communist propaganda depicting the Americans and other Westerners as "imperialists" and as "enemies" of the liberation and independence of the Asian and African peoples.

The West must revise its attitude toward the enslaved nations in Europe and Asia. At the newly formed "Asian-African Solidarity Conference" in Cairo, both the Soviet Union and Red China have representatives, who, however, are more than representatives; they are the real power behind the facade of the Afro-Asian representatives.

At the same time the West is assuming a totally indifferent, if not hostile, attitude toward the independence movements and their leaders, who are seeking support and assistance in the free world.

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Moreover, in the United States the press is waging a rather systematic campaign against British, French, or Dutch imperialism, but little attention, if any, is being devoted to Russian imperialism and enslavement. Why is this so? If the little country of Ghana is allowed to realize its independence, why not extend the same right to Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Byelorussia, and the other enslaved countries in the U. S. S. R.?

On the other hand, the Russians are cleverly juggling with nationalist nomenclature and definitions. For instance, the organ of the Communist Party of Georgia, *Kommunisti* (No. 149, 1957), published an article on Lenin's views regarding national problems and foreign policy. In that article Lenin's attitude to Ukraine is cited:

In his article, "Ukraine," which Lenin wrote on June 23, 1917, he outlined a definite program for the solution of the national question, in particular that of Ukraine: "No democrat, let alone a Socialist, can deny the legality of Ukraine's aims. No democrat can deny the right of Ukraine to severance from Russia; it is precisely the unconditional recognition of this right that creates the possibility of propagating the voluntary union of these two peoples in one state. And this is truth! It is only the complete recognition of this right that affords the only possibility of definitely breaking off relations with the past of accursed Czarism which by every means available helped to alienate these two peoples."

This is a sample of the verbal gymnastics with which the Russians fooled many peoples in the past and do so now with a dismaying success.

Mr. ARKIN. Mr. Stetsko, what is your view on the-called "national communism" and the possibility of it being used by the West against Moscow?

Mr. STETSKO. In addition to the fact that Western psychological warfare neglects to capitalize on the most potent argument—the liberation of the enslaved peoples in the U. S. S. R.—it is committing another psychological and political blunder. Some political circles in the West, especially in the United States, actually believe that the best way to oppose communism is not to juxtapose diametrically opposite doctrine, but a similar one. They would advance a Socialist-Marxist or "national communism" ideology, which they see as likely to supplant communism. Nothing can be further from the truth than that.

Communism, as a modern form of Russian imperialism, can be successfully opposed with a national idea, the ideal of national liberation and independence of all the enslaved peoples and the final disintegration of the Russian Empire, this "prison of nations."

From false premises follow false conclusions. This rule eminently applies to the Western attitude with regard to the human forces of national and social revolution behind the Iron Curtain. Some Western circles, for instance, are waging the anti-Communist struggle behind the Iron Curtain with the assistance and guidance of former Communist collaborators who helped the Russian Communists to install Communist regimes in various Eastern and Central European countries. We can easily imagine what the occupied countries of Western Europe would have thought of the Americans had they fought the Nazis with the assistance of their collaborators—de la Roquette, Degrelle, Quisling, and the like. The Allies did not even support Marshal Petain, once the hero of Verdun, but threw their all-out support behind Gen. Charles de Gaulle, who totally and integrally opposed Hitler and everything he stood for.

But at the present time we are witness to the very opposite. The Western democracies are shying away from staunch anti-Communists, and instead are relying on former Communists and Communist collaborators. In doing so they—unwittingly, perhaps—are manifesting a deplorable lack of faith in their own moral strength and the final victory of democracy over communism. To hold such an attitude is to tolerate, if not approve of, communism as an ideology, which is here to stay; it is a shameful admission that the West cannot muster and support a better philosophy of life.

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In fact, there is no "national communism," as a limited national doctrine. This is so because its roots are based in the international doctrine. There is no possible doubt that communism, without the support of the Russian force and without having become an instrument of Russian imperialism, would have remained one of the many abstract theories in the world, such as anarchism. Without Russia it would not have become a deadly threat to the entire world.

Every nation can cope with communism as such through its own means and legislation. Communism as an international doctrine, which has been imposed upon every country by the Russian bayonets and tanks—no country, except ethnic Russia, accepted communism by their own will—has become a malevolent and deceitful ideology at the service of Russian aggression, behind which lurks traditional Russian imperialism and colonialism. In this respect the only "national communism" is the "Russian national communism" posing as "international communism" directed by Moscow, inasmuch as it serves the Russian interests exclusively. All other "national communisms" are but superficial creations of Moscow, with which Moscow is endeavoring to capitalize on the yearnings and aspirations of the conquered peoples. "National communism" techniques also serve to keep the Communist Parties in the West in the Russian camp, inasmuch as they are given the illusion of a measure of independence.

From this point of view, we approach the problem of Titoism. Titoism, regrettably, has determined in no little wise the substance of the psychological warfare effort of many Western circles. Titoism has the Western Powers on a wayward path by causing them to rely on the so-called "national Communist" elements in the Communist Parties behind the Iron Curtain. In this way, Titoism added to the confusion in the Western ranks and thus helped prevent the West from integrating its anti-Communist policies. Under the influence of the Titoist experiment, the Western political circles have fruitlessly directed their anti-Communist activities toward the spurious "leading elite of the revolution." The damage done to the cause of the Kremlin by Titoism, on the other hand, has been relatively insignificant.

When at one time several hundred armed Ukrainian insurgents, members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), succeeded in penetrating into Western Germany with arms in their hands, neither the American nor the British Radio Corporations would allow them to address an appeal to the Ukrainian people, despite the fact that these Ukrainian insurgents enjoyed the overwhelming support and sympathy of the entire Ukrainian nation. Nothing was ever said in Western broadcasts of the death of Gen. Taras Chuprynka, commander in chief of the UPA, who led the Ukrainian anti-Communist and anti-Nazi resistance during World War II and who died battling the MVD security troops in March 1950; nor was mention ever made of the death of Osman Batur, leader of the Turkmenian Basmach (Turkmenian insurgents), who was also killed while fighting the Russians. And yet the case of Milovan Djilas became a worldwide cause celebre overnight, simply because he became "disillusioned" in the communism. This Djilas, one of the most ruthless Communists only a few years ago, was one of the principal executioners of Gen. Draza Mihailovich, erstwhile Western ally against Hitler, whom the Western allies sacrificed to placate Stalin and his pupil in Yugoslavia, Josip Bros Tito.

Undoubtedly, the opposition movements within the Communist Parties behind the Iron Curtain create a ferment, which harms the Communist cause as a whole. But it would be grievous error on the part of the Western World to rely on such disturbance as a decisive element which would precipitate the fall and disintegration of the Russian Communist empire. The enslaved nations are fighting against all forms of communism. To impose upon them the acceptance of "national communism" as a compromise settlement—whether through a Yalta-type agreement or "peaceful coexistence"—is to undermine and ultimately paralyze the resistance of these peoples.

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It is certain that these enslaved nations would oppose and resist any attempt by the West to impose on them a "streamlined" communism, in the guise of "national communism." Finally, "national communism," unsupported by either the West or Russia, has no chance of surviving whatsoever. The example of Wladyslaw Gomulka in Poland is to the point. After the Poznan upheavals his position was quite desperate. He pleaded with the Polish people to vote for him and not to demand more "freedom," because the Soviet-Russian Army would intervene and because the Poles could not ever expect to "detach themselves completely" from the "friendly" Soviet Union. Janos Kadar in Hungary also belonged to the so-called "national Communist" team, but in the decisive hour of the Communist regime he did not hesitate to appeal for Russian assistance to crush brutally the aspirations to freedom of his compatriots.

Socialism cannot effectively oppose communism any more than did the national socialism of Hitler. Hitler failed to overcome Stalin because their political systems were so closely similar that the enslaved nations saw nothing different about nazism. They, therefore, could not support the Nazis, although they hated the Bolsheviks deeply. Socialist Alexander Kerensky also opposed the national liberation of the enslaved nations, as he wanted to preserve the Russian Empire at all costs. The people socialism of Edward Benes led him to capitulate to Russia. In general, any political system which has any affinity or closeness to totalitarianism and imperialism is per se not acceptable as a weapon against communism and Russian imperialism.

Although the Kremlin is enslaving the nations which it conquered, the Russian leaders are exerting tremendous effort to give the impression that they are not enslavers, but liberators. For instance, during the celebrations of the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, Russian propaganda tried to convince the Ukrainian people that the Russians were their "true friends," and that the "Ukrainian S. S. R. is a genuine Ukrainian independent state and is sovereign." It told them that the Ukrainian state is "national in form, but Socialist in content," and that all the achievements of the Ukrainian people are due to the assistance and good heart of the "elder brother," the Russians. At the same time the Western propaganda emanating from the free capitals of the world and directed toward the Ukrainian people is simply noncommittal on the subject. Can we imagine what the Ukrainian people would feel if the "Voice of America" were as active as the Russian propaganda, if it presented the true and unaltered story of the Ukrainian people?

Mr. AGNEW. In rejecting the so-called "national communism" as a weapon against Moscow, who is, in your opinion, a true and reliable ally of the West behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. STUTZKO. The West thinks naively that there are many "honest" Communists behind the Iron Curtain who resent Russian intrusion and, therefore, are susceptible to Western appeals for "national communism." Needless to say, such notions are totally groundless. There are very few "idealistic" or "honest" Communists behind the Iron Curtain; the free world has a far greater number of them than can be found behind the Iron Curtain. Those who rule as Russian satraps and puppets are as ruthless and dedicated to Moscow as is to be expected; to maintain themselves in power and to escape the periodic Russian purges, they have had to be treacherous and venal—only such people can walk the Communist tightrope. To rely on them, to hope that they will eventually turn against Moscow, is as futile as to have tried to induce Quisling of Norway or Degrelle of Belgium to take arms against Hitler.

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Hence the basic line of our liberation effort must be oriented toward the national liberation forces of the enslaved nations which exist in the underground, despite their neglect by the free West for these many years. It is one thing to break down the Communist leadership and quite another to mobilize the constructive forces solely capable of wrecking the Communist system. A social revolution is impossible in the occupied countries without a national revolution, because the social system as imposed by Moscow is sustained in the enslaved nations by force of Russian arms. Mobilization and support on the part of the free world of these national elements which totally oppose and negate the Russian Empire and communism is the one, unique method which will successfully lead to the destruction of communism and the disintegration of the Russian totalitarian empire.

To believe that the West can find Russian leaders who would be willing to help bring out the fall of the Russian Empire is another dangerous illusion. It was Alexander Kerensky and Paul Miliukov who are said to have expressed the following sentiment: "It is better to have a cruel dictator (Stalin) than have a dismembered Russia" (i. e., reference is made to the Russian Empire).

There is no doubt today that underground resistance forces in the U. S. S. R. are very much a reality. If the West, for its part, ceases to appease the Russian tyranny and openly accepts the program of disintegrating the Russian Communist empire, the chances of a successful eruption of these underground forces are more than fair. If the West wants to avoid the fate of Ukraine or Hungary, and the like, it must stop dreaming about any "peaceful coexistence" with Moscow. The West must change its tactics from the defensive to the offensive, and it should fearlessly proclaim that so long as the Russians continue to enslave Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Slovakia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, and others, so long will the West refuse to accept Russia's proposal for "peaceful coexistence." But toward that objective the Western nations should create a favorable climate and specific conditions which would help, and not impede, the announced program. Above all, the West must recognize the anti-Russian underground resistance movements and help in their operations behind the Iron Curtain at least as boldly and thoroughly as Moscow is helping Communist fifth columns the world over. The West must strengthen the centrifugal forces which the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. comprise. It has to exert political pressures against the Russian Empire from all sides; it must overhaul its approach to Moscow and adopt new and dynamic tactics. The United States has to redesign its propaganda broadcasts, particularly its official and unofficial psychological warfare media, such as the "Voice of America," "Radio Free Europe," and "Radio Liberation."

One of the major steps in the new approach should be the elimination of the difference in the treatment accorded the so-called satellite countries and the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R. by the United States. Up to date all the efforts of the United States Government seem to be concentrated on the satellite nations. The nations enslaved in U. S. S. R. receive scant attention on the false assumption that they are the "internal problem of Russia."

In like manner, the West should support the liberation of such people as the Slovaks in Communist Czechoslovakia, and the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in Tito's Yugoslavia. In both these countries these distinct peoples are persecuted not only by Communist tyrants, but by "smaller" imperialisms as well. Slovaks or Croats have the same right to their independence as Czechs or Serbs.

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In policy planning with respect to the Soviet Union, the West must realize that its only chance of overcoming the Bolshevik scourge lies in undermining the Russian Empire. This Empire consists of many non-Russian nations and lands which were conquered by Moscow and had been held in captivity against their will. These forces are powerful and reliable, and they will always be aligned with the West against the Russian enslavers. But, on the other hand, the West must finally understand their plight, and provide them with efficient assistance. Instead of supporting Communist Tito and Gomulka and other "national Communists," the West must throw its unqualified support behind the national liberation forces which exist behind the Iron Curtain. Tito and Gomulka and their ilk will exist so long as communism exists in the Soviet Union. Although it may sound somehow paradoxical, some circles in the West are supporting "national communism" for the sole purpose of having a "modified communism" in the world, even when communism in the U. S. S. R. has been destroyed.

Finally, the West must realize that the Russian Empire is the last empire that eventually will be broken up. The national revolutionary movements will constitute the bulk of the forces which will overthrow that Empire. How long it will take before the process is completed is difficult to foretell. A spark might ignite a conflagration which will send the whole unwieldy edifice crashing to the ground. Nobody knew in 1917 that the rebellion of the Ukrainian Volynsky Regiment in Petrograd would start the revolution of 1917 and would precipitate the fall of the Russian Czarist Empire. National revolutions are not guided by Marxist laws of "historical and economic development," and therefore are not subordinate to the mechanical calculations of Marxism, but instead are directed by human souls and hearts.

Mr. ARENS. You mentioned, Mr. Stetsko, the demands of political prisoners in Vorkuta. Could you tell us more about it?

Mr. STETSKO. Dr. Joseph Scholmer, a noted German doctor who was arrested in East Berlin and sent to the slave camp at Vorkuta, reports that during the revolts sparked by the Ukrainian and Baltic political prisoners, camp inmates issued demands which went far beyond the character of ordinary prison strike. In his book, entitled "Vorkuta" (p. 194), Dr. Scholmer writes:

Conversations with the military leaders of the resistance groups at Vorkuta give one a clear picture of their idea of the most desirable form of such cooperation, between themselves and the West. This can be summarized as follows:

1. The dropping of leaflets over all camps giving the signal to the prisoners to call a general strike.
2. The dropping of arms, radio transmitters, explosives, medical supplies and food. This is to be done not only at Vorkuta, but in all the forest camps along the railway leading southward.
3. Immediate formation by the prisoners of partisan groups who would be in a position to cut the 4,500-mile railway line at given points.
4. Creation of separate Republic, independent of Moscow, which would embrace the whole vast forest network of European and Asiatic Russia. If the prisoners had arms, this would be quite unassailable. Not tanks, aircraft, or artillery can operate in this gigantic partisan terrain.
5. Intensive radio propaganda to the peoples in the Soviet Union from this independent Republic with the aim of bringing about—
 - (a) A peasant rising under the traditional slogan, "Land for the Peasants";
 - (b) A workers' rising under the slogan, "Factories to the Workers";
6. Proclamation of the national independence of Ukraine, the Baltic states, Byelorussia, the peoples of Caucasus, Turkestan, and the Far East;
7. Ultimate creation of conditions similar to civil war by an aggravation of the tension between the hard core of the Army and the peoples of the Soviet Union.

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The Ukrainian prisoners in Mordovia sent a special appeal to the United Nations, putting forth special demands which substantiate the demands of the prisoners in Vorkuta cited above. Moreover, 500 Ukrainian women prisoners were slaughtered by Russian tanks in Kingir in June of 1954, when they joined the revolting prisoners fighting for identical purposes. These examples convincingly demonstrate that, despite Russian terror and persecution, the forces of freedom and liberation are by no means subdued or destroyed.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetzko, you mentioned about the vast anti-Russian resistance among the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R. What is your opinion about the Soviet army?

Mr. STETZKO. The Soviet army is not as reliable as many in the West think it is. The West might well hope that with a proper psychological warfare and approach, the Soviet army could be demoralized and disrupted without undue effort. First of all, the majority of the Soviet soldiers are non-Russian. During the German-Soviet War of 1941-45, millions of non-Russian soldiers surrendered voluntarily to Germany. Moreover, during the Hungarian revolution of 1956 many Soviet soldiers, the overwhelming majority of them being Ukrainians, refused to fight against the Hungarian freedom fighters and went over to them, using their arms against the Russian security troops. The West has an excellent opportunity to demoralize the Soviet army by appealing to the national elements in it, and by promising them the creation of national armies, to be put at the disposal of their national independent governments on the ruins of the Russian Empire. Such an appeal would create havoc in the Soviet army.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetzko, some leaders in the Western World, in supporting the Russian-sponsored drive for "peaceful coexistence," are expressing beliefs that communism will eventually evolve into a sort of democracy. Do you yourself think it possible?

Mr. STETZKO. Under the pressure of the national liberation and anti-Bolshevik struggle of the enslaved nations, the Russian tyrants are compelled to juggle and maneuver their way, making fictitious "concessions" here and there. This has given rise to the fallacy in the West that through evolution the Communist system may evolve into some sort of democracy. But Westerners forget one thing: these "concessions" are doled out by the Kremlin itself and only to such an extent as it is deemed safe for its own security. It is to be recalled that the New Economic Policy (NEP) was also analyzed as a retreat from communism; then we had a "Ukrainization" program in Ukraine, which, however, was followed by brutal collectivization and manmade famine in Ukraine, claiming millions of victims in Ukraine, the Don Cossack lands, Byelorussia, and so forth. The present "thaw" in Poland can hardly be compared with the powerful "changes" during NEP. The Kremlin purposely creates the illusion of "peaceful evolution" within the Communist empire in order to allay the fears of the free world. Khrushchev's downgrading of Stalin was also a very effective trick, whereby he exonerated himself and thus made himself more presentable as a "benevolent Communist," one fit for the West to do business with.

And yet it was after the death of Stalin that the Soviet Russian Empire was shaken to its foundations; that Khrushchev and Bulganin were shown to be every whit as ruthless and inhuman as Stalin, Beria, and Yezhov. When the demands of Ukrainian prisoners in the concentration camps went beyond the "evolutionary limits," the "collective leadership" did not hesitate to employ army tanks and shock security MVD troops to suppress the Ukrainian rebellion and general strikes. The process took place in East Berlin, then in Poznan, and finally in Hungary. Moreover, Khrushchev clamped down on Tito when the latter tried to walk a "neutralist" line (this was managed despite the absence of Soviet troops in Yugoslavia). How can one talk of any political "evolution" in countries choked with Soviet army garrisons and a police network? This political "evolution" operates only for the strengthening of the Russian Empire, and has also become one of the very powerful arguments of the Soviet foreign policy, aiming at an acceptance by the West of the status quo, which in fact would endorse all the Russian conquests in Europe and Asia.

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Selien How Russia understands "peaceful coexistence" we see even on the instance of the Hungarian revolution. The bloody suppression of the Hungarian revolution was decided upon unanimously by "beloved soldier" Zhukov, "world peace lover" Khrushchev, "sponsor of light industry" Malenkov, and others; they all knew that a successful Hungarian revolution would spell the beginning of the decline of their domination.

The Hungarian revolution demonstrated most vividly the total bankruptcy of communism as a social, political, and ideological system. It was directed against every and any form of communism, especially against one of its most objectionable features—collectivizations; and it was directed against the Russians as the master oppressors. The cry "Russians Go Home" underscored most emphatically the national and anti-Russian character of the revolution. Also the fact that the youth took over the leadership in the anti-Communist and anti-Russian uprising demonstrated the total failure of the Communist indoctrinations; and the fact that the workers, those "legendary" beneficiaries of the Communist regime, manned the barricades undermined the Communist ideology and its regime more than anything else has done in the last few decades.

One of the most spectacular features of the Hungarian revolution was the numerous desertions from the Soviet army of Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and other non-Russian soldiers over to the side of the Hungarian freedom fighters—another proof of the antipathy of the subjugated peoples for their Russian masters. This occasion reminded the free world once again that the Achilles' heel of the Bolshevik empire is the struggle of the enslaved peoples.

Despite the bravery of the Hungarian people and the fact that the Western nations let them down completely, the Hungarian revolution also had other causes for its failure. Imre Nagy, to the very last minute, believed in Russia and never understood the essence of Russian ideology. But the heroic people of Hungary had a need of a firm, national, and uncompromisingly anti-Communist leadership, not a "national Communist" one which still believed in the possibility of compromise with the Kremlin. The Hungarian revolution remained localized, instead of becoming generalized and spreading to other enslaved countries of the Soviet Russian Empire.

When Imre Nagy announced the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact, he appealed for neutrality, hoping that the United States would guarantee such neutrality. Instead of which he ought to have appealed to all enslaved nations to rise in a common front against communism and Russian imperialism. He should have called on them to fight for their national independent states; for the destruction of the Russian forces in all the occupied countries; and for the building up of national, non-Communist armies not only in Hungary, but in Ukraine, Poland, Georgia, Turkestan, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and others, and China as well. But "national Communist" Nagy clung to his trust in Russia to the last, even to that final moment when Soviet Russian tanks approached his residence. When Hungarian freedom fighters, common workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals rose against the Russians and their Communist puppets, Nagy tried to placate and appease them. Hence he had to lose, and with him the brave Hungarian people lost as well.

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The Western nations will eventually pay dearly for failing to support the Hungarian revolution and, for that matter, the Polish and the German riots and the Ukrainian strikes and uprisings in the concentration camps. It is beyond dispute that had the Western nations, especially the United States, actively assisted the Hungarian revolution, Russia would not have dared to risk an atomic war, or to challenge the United States as a whole.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetzko, you are an outstanding Ukrainian nationalist leader. Would you care to say something about present activities of the Ukrainian nationalist underground in Ukraine?

Mr. STETZKO. The Ukrainian liberation movement in the last few years has undergone certain tactical changes due to the fact that the Western World including the United States, directed all its efforts toward a modus vivendi with Communist Russia and the enslaved nations were given to understand, in most unmistakable terms, that they cannot hope for any effective assistance in their liberation effort. It was clear that the Ukrainian underground movement would have to change its methods of resistance in order to continue effectively the struggle against Russia, inasmuch as open guerrilla warfare would not continue indefinitely. Thus, instead of an armed struggle against the Russian invaders, a more subtle and well-organized resistance to the Soviet Russian power as such went into effect. This quiet and systematic resistance against Moscow embraced all the sectors of life in Ukraine: political, economic, cultural, and religious. From time to time an armed ambush against Soviet Russian security troops does take place in Ukraine.

In Ukraine this resistance is directed by the principal resistance groups (1) Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), (2) Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and (3) the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U. H. W. R.). The other enslaved peoples have similar underground anti-Russian and anti-Communist liberation organizations, which are united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A. B. N.), as coordination center.

Underground propaganda, which encompasses underground literature on political, literary, economic themes, has proved to be extremely effective, especially among the youth and the Soviet army men. The latter group has been especially prone to anti-Communist and anti-Russian propaganda, inasmuch as the great number of it consists of the non-Russian nationalities which cannot forget what Moscow is doing to their native countries.

In the economic sector, the propaganda effort is directed against the collective farm system, and the advantages of private property are being propagated as an inalienable right of every man.

Furthermore, the Ukrainian liberation movement is supporting the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox underground churches and combats vigorously the official atheistic policy of Moscow. All possibilities that exist within the Soviet system are being meticulously utilized for the purpose of preparing the Ukrainian people for the final day of liberation and freedom.

This anti-Russian and anti-Communist resistance of the Ukrainian people has found another expression in the form of mass strikes and rebellions in Soviet concentration camps in Siberia and Kazakhstan. Such mass strikes which gained recognition in the free world took place in July 1953 in Vorkuta, in June of 1953 in Norilsk, in June of 1954 in Kingir (Kazakhstan), and in September of 1955 in Mordovia and in Taisbet. These mass strikes sowed not only the germs of revolt and resistance in the slave labor camps, but contributed greatly to slackening of Soviet war industries in Siberia.

UKRAINIANS

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Although deeply and bitterly disappointed in the West's inaction and indifference to their plight, the Ukrainians and other enslaved peoples inside the Iron Curtain are keeping their spirit of resistance very high and are not wavering in their anti-Communist positions. The brutal policies of Moscow relying on mass deportations of Ukrainians to Asia proved ineffective, because these recalcitrant Ukrainians spread seeds of discontent and rebellion wherever they went.

The ideals of a common cause of all the enslaved nations are deeply rooted behind the Iron Curtain, and no form of Russian tyranny can ever destroy them. The Soviet Russian system failed and it only exists because it is supported by the strength of Russian bayonets. The case of Hungary in the fall of 1956 substantiates this most eloquently.

The nationalism of the enslaved nations is the most powerful weapon of which the West can effectively avail itself in its never-ending struggle against Communist Russia. But, amazingly, the West is totally blind to the existence of these potent forces behind the Iron Curtain. During World War II, the Ukrainian underground (the OUN, the UPA, and the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council) waged an unparalleled struggle against both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks, and yet the West failed to recognize these forces. After the defeat of Nazi Germany, the UPA, in cooperation with liberation forces of other nations, commanded large and powerful forces; and the Soviet Government was forced to employ many combat divisions of special security troops in order to cope with the Ukrainian underground resistance forces. Later on, on May 12, 1947, the Soviet Union concluded a special treaty with the Communist governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia directed against the UPA.

During the Hungarian revolution of 1956 many Ukrainian and other non-Russian soldiers from the Soviet army not only refused to fight against the Hungarian freedom fighters, but numerous of them went over to their side with arms and tanks. Many of them died fighting against the Russians, and many others were captured by the MVD and executed outright or sent to slave labor camps.

Long before the Hungarian revolution, the Kremlin could not conceal the vast anti-Russian resistance in Ukraine. The Soviet press, despite the strict Communist censorship, reported from time to time the arrest of "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists" and "enemies of the people." In 1947 some 400 members of the UPA crossed the heavily guarded Iron Curtain border and arrived in Western Germany armed with automatic pistols, hand grenades, and so forth. They were sent by Gen. Taras Chuprynka, commander in chief of the UPA, to convince the Western World that the Ukrainian underground was still active and fighting against Moscow. After the death of General Chuprynka, who was ambushed and killed by the MVD troops on March 5, 1950, the Ukrainian underground continued its operations and the Soviet Russian Government made several appeals in the press and over the radio, promising the underground freedom fighters full pardon if they surrendered voluntarily. (Gen. Taras Chuprynka was a third Ukrainian national leader destroyed by Moscow in recent times. On May 26, 1926, a Communist agent shot and killed on a street of Paris Simon Petlura, former head of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic. Col. Eugene Konovalets, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and commander of the Ukrainian Military Organization, was blown to death by a bomb delivered by an NKVD agent on May 23, 1938, in Rotterdam, the Netherlands.)

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In the fall of 1956 the Hungarian freedom fighters reported that they know of many desertions of Ukrainian soldiers from the Soviet army and of resistance outbursts in several places in Western Ukraine, particularly the railroad networks between the cities of Nadvirna and Vorokhta, near the Polish-Ukrainian border, and in Uzhorod in Carpatho-Ukraine. The railroad line between Lviv (Western Ukraine) and Budapest was guarded by four crack Soviet divisions. At the same time serious disorders broke out in the areas of Hrebiviv and Zamist near the Polish-Byelorussian border. The railroad line between Stanislaviv and Kolomeya was disrupted for several days.

Moreover, serious student disturbances took place in Kiev, capital of Ukraine; and some Hungarian prisoners were liberated by the Ukrainian underground fighters when their train was ambushed by the Ukrainian national partisans. These Hungarian refugees who escaped from the Soviet Union stated that the Ukrainian underground was well organized and that it enjoyed the support of the Ukrainian people, which is direct contradiction to the Kremlin propaganda line to the effect that the Ukrainian nationalist underground is composed of paid agents and enemies of the people.

Even before the Hungarian revolution, the Ukrainian underground fighters were known to be operating in the Polish-Ukrainian border zone. The Polish newspaper *Zycie Warszawy* (Life of Warsaw) of July 21-27, 1955, reported the trial of several young Ukrainians in Warsaw who were accused of belonging to the OUN and the UPA. Among them were such men as Kaminsky, Lykholat, Roysan, Ptashnyk, Boychuk, and Nyz. All were condemned to death, and several others got prison terms. In Kiev's *Molod Ukrainy* (Youth of Ukraine), a Ukrainian Komsomol review, a lengthy article appeared on February 17, 1957, attacking the OUN and UPA. It concluded as follows: "The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and the reverend fathers from the Vatican, the Basilian Fathers and the Autocephalists are finishing their days."

But a month before, the Soviet MVD had to use their forces against the rebellious Ukrainians in the area of Lviv and Kiev and against large-scale disorders in Tiflis, capital of Georgia.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and the Catholic Churches, which were brutally liquidated by the Bolsheviks, are nevertheless functioning in the underground despite severe reprisals and persecution.

Again, on February 28, 1957, the Kiev radio attacked the United States, accusing it of sending Ukrainian nationalist "spies and saboteurs" into Ukraine. This attack was printed in *Radyanska Ukraina* of February 28, 1957. The said newspaper is the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian S. S. R.

Two days before that, on February 26, 1957, L. I. Kizya, member of the Soviet Ukrainian delegation to the United Nations, formally accused the United States of sowing disorders and sabotage in Ukraine and he introduced a resolution in the United Nations demanding condemnation of the United States.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Stetzko, do the activities of the Ukrainian nationalist underground in Ukraine find any other repercussions in the Communist-controlled press and publications?

Mr. STETZKO. On January 10-12, 1957, a plenum of the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine took place in Kiev. One of the Ukrainian Soviet writers, Yuri Smolych, was commissioned by Moscow to deliver a major attack against Ukrainian nationalism. His address appeared in the issue No. 5 of *Literaturna Hazeta* of Kiev. Smolych averred that "bands of Ukrainian nationalists" took active part in the Hungarian uprising (the same statement appeared in the official Hungarian Communist "White Book" on the "Fascist intervention," issued by the puppet Hungarian Government of Janos Kadar). Smolych "intimated" that these Ukrainian nationalists "were brought to Hungary by American planes and armored cars."

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The Russian-controlled *Soviet Latvia* and *Soviet Estonia* reported recently that national liberation movements were active in the Baltic States, Byelorussian, and Ukraine. Also *Uchitel'skaya Gazeta* (*Teachers' Gazette*), official organ of the Soviet Ministry of Public Education, reported the passive resistance of the population in Bessarabia and Kirghizia; and during Christmas the chief of the MGB, Gen. Ivan Serov, called in Moscow's *Pravda* for redoubling vigilance, saying: "All the activity of our security organs is directed toward the destruction of foreign espionage groups and other enemies of socialism. * * *

Writing in the December 1, 1957, issue of the *New York Herald Tribune*, Ansel E. Talbert, its military and aviation editor, commented upon the death sentences passed upon four Ukrainian underground fighters by the Soviet military tribunal in Rivne, Ukraine. He wrote:

Official Soviet reports of death sentences just passed upon a group of Ukrainian "nationalists" and "partisans" from the Rovno Province bordering the Pripet Marshes appear to confirm stories related by refugees from Hungary. These were to the effect that before the Budapest revolt of last year, Soviet soldiers had told them of recent fighting between regular Red army troops and Ukrainian partisans, although such anti-Soviet guerrilla warfare was believed to have ended in 1949. * * *

On October 24, 1957, *Pravda Ukrainy* in Kiev reported the trial and execution by shooting of four young Ukrainian nationalists: V. Drozd, V. Kalchuk, I. Bukhalsky, and V. Shevchuk of Derman, in the Rivne oblast, for the alleged murder of 400 Communist agents between 1944 and 1949. Another Soviet Ukrainian scribe, Y. Melnychuk, wrote an article on the "Derman tragedy" in the monthly review *Zhodyn* (October), No. 6, 1957, and promised to "reveal all the facts" about Ukrainian nationalist "traitors," but he suddenly discontinued the series after the publication of the first installment of his article.

It is evident that Moscow is trying to terrorize the population of Ukraine by trials, executions of young Ukrainian patriots, and by systematic vilifying of the Ukrainian underground movement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Steteko, is there any comment in the Soviet-Ukrainian press toward Eastern Europe and especially Ukraine?

Mr. STETKO. This anti-Ukrainian campaign by the Communist press in Ukraine is also coupled with anti-American propaganda as well. For instance, United States foreign policy with regard to Ukraine was scathingly attacked by Yaroslav Zynch, in No. 1 of *Zhodyn*, for January 1958.

This article singled out the American Committee for Liberation, accusing it of hostility toward Ukrainian national independence and of sympathy with Russian imperialism.

The gist of the article, entitled "Mercenaries Masked and Unmasked," follows:

Before World War II nationalist cheats gave people the illusion of a "Ukrainian empire." This was what their "ally" Hitler promised them. We all know what happened to that promise. Hitler had no thought about any kind of Ukrainian state, not even a bourgeois. His aim was to destroy the Ukrainian people.

Today, the nationalist bosses cannot even talk about a tiny backyard bourgeois state. As anyone can see, this is not in the plans of the nationalists' new bosses. Even the nationalist bosses themselves admit that in the so-called American Committee, an unofficial agency of the United States Department of State, the first fiddle is played by Russian White-Guard "nonpredeterminists," who refuse to recognize the existence of the Ukrainian state. In their opinion, this matter is to be "determined" later, obviously only if they can seize power. It is not too difficult to guess how this matter would be "determined." Suffice it to say that they all consider Ukraine as part of Russia, and the Ukrainian language as corrupted Russian.

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The same article also attacked the United States Department of State for its support of Polish, Hungarian, and Rumanian exile leaders who claim Western Ukraine, Carpatho-Ukraine, and Bukovina and Bessarabia as parts of their "future" states.

An author whom we previously quoted, Yuri Smolyeh, published a book, *Peace to Huts, and War to Palaces*, in which he vilified the Ukrainian struggle for independence in the years 1917-20. He especially attacked the proclamation of Ukrainian independence on January 22, 1918, by the Ukrainian Central Rada and such Ukrainian leaders as Simon Petlura, Prof. Mykhailo Hrushevsky, and others. The United States, France, and Great Britain were also depicted as "predatory power," which tried to undermine the Soviet authority by turning Ukraine into a colony of "Western capitalism."

Numerous similar examples and facts can be sighted from other countries of the Soviet Union, such as Georgia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Armenia, Bulgaria, Azerbaijan, or Lithuania. For instance, *Komunist*, No. 1, 1958, wrote that in Lithuania there "appear reactionary, nationalist, and antinational traditions which instigate hatred among the peoples and influence the youth in the spirit of bourgeois nationalism * * *." Nationalist influences and tendencies have been also uncovered among the writers of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia, according to the *Literary Gazette* of March 6, 1958. In Armenia serious disturbances arose among collective farmers who failed to deliver the wheat quotas assigned to them, at which time the frontiers of Armenia were sealed off. Arrests were reported in Azerbaijan and Turkestan.

From Slovakia it was reported that several secret trials of Slovak nationalists took place recently, and the Communists are waging a fierce campaign against the Slovak National Republic, ridiculing Slovak national culture and history and the Slovak national statehood, as well as the Slovak political emigres.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetko, what in your opinion is there that the West can do in order to help the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle against Moscow and for their liberation?

Mr. STETKO. In summing up this testimony, I would like to present the following conclusions for your consideration and thought:

The key for the destruction of the Russian Empire lies in the hands of the West, through the freedom-aspiring nationalism of the enslaved nations.

If the liberation action of the subjugated nations is to succeed, the West must necessarily adopt a different policy with respect to bolshevism than it had heretofore. It must spring out from different political principles and military-political strategy, which must take into account the enslaved nations, as we analyzed before.

There remain, unfortunately, only two possibilities: either the West is going to change its policy in the direction of the total negation of bolshevism and Russia and the complete isolation, including the ousting of the Soviet Union from the United Nations, and an unqualified support of the liberation struggle of the enslaved nations, or it will have to accept Khrushchev's terms of "peaceful coexistence" and thereby invite its own doom. I am inclined to support wholeheartedly the first course, inasmuch as I firmly believe that this course is the only one with which the West can avoid an all-out thermonuclear catastrophe.

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In adopting this course, the free world must above all realize a complete coordination of its military action with the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain. For this purpose a closer cooperation of certain United States officials, as well as those from other free countries, with the representatives of these liberation movements in exile, who never collaborated with Communists or ever defended the integrity of the Russian Empire, must be effectuated. The principal aim of this coordination is the synchronization and concerted action of the two partners not only the political, but on the strategical plane as well, as General Fuller indicated in his penetrating thesis on this subject. In the event of war, the free world must concentrate its attack on the Russian ethnographic territory proper, inasmuch as the enslaved nations would be able to cope more effectively with the Soviet Russian troops garrisoned in Ukraine, Hungary, Poland, Turkestan, et cetera. The national liberation uprising, once set in motion, can then isolate the Soviet troops in Central Europe westward from the Baltic-Black Sea line to Turkey. Before this "D-day" comes, the West must provide this essential assistance to the anti-Communist and anti-Russian resistance forces. Even now assistance can be spelled out in terms of technical and material support to the existing liberation movements, so that an intimate contact between these forces and the free world could be achieved beforehand.

The West should have no scruples in this connection inasmuch as Moscow is abetting its subversive and anti-Western Communist fifth columns quite openly and shamelessly. These are the lackeys of Moscow.

On the other hand, the liberation movements are actual partners and political allies of the West, and they are fighting for their own liberation and independence. Khrushchev quite openly interferes in the internal affairs of different nations. But so far not one Western statesman of weight has had the courage to declare publicly that the free world should insist on the independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Slovakia, the North Caucasus, and the like. The West is even timid to raise the question of independence of Ukraine and Byelorussia, although both these Republics have been charter members of the United Nations since 1945.

Finally, the West should draw a practical conclusion from the fact that the Soviet army consists of soldiers of various nationalities. A vigorous and fruitful action can be undertaken to win the loyalty of these non-Russian nationals. The U. S. S. R. can be surrounded by aggressive propaganda outposts in Europe, the Near and Middle East, and the Far East, by including in this dynamic action the political and national liberation formations of the enslaved peoples. The first and commanding place should be occupied not by "national Communists" or former Communists or their collaborators, who have become disillusioned with communism, but by leaders who have never engaged in political dealings with the Communists and have always fought them regardless of place or circumstances. The West should use in this all-important action not paid agents, but political partners and allies.

The United States, the remaining hope for all mankind, must seriously consider this alternative. It should unhesitatingly proceed upon such action by providing powerful radio stations, which could be operated by nationalist leaders, who would know how to appeal to their enslaved brothers behind the Iron Curtain. They should be given every available opportunity to maintain live contact with the enslaved countries and to serve as dynamic liaison between them and the free world. It is to be regretted that certain circles in the United States have been relying in the past for such work upon opportunistic elements, many of whom served the Bolsheviks and were their staunch supporters for long years.

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The existing United States private radio broadcasting organizations, such as "Radio Liberation" and "Radio Free Europe," cannot appeal to the enslaved nations with full effect, inasmuch as their policies run counter to the interests of the great majority of the population of the enslaved countries. The American Committee for Liberation conducts a policy, for example, which is not in harmony with the interests of the enslaved peoples in the U. S. S. R., in much the same manner as the activity of the Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the U. S. S. R. in Munich cannot claim any political success, for its policy has been based upon a total misconception and misrepresentation of the conditions in the U. S. S. R., especially those involving the political aspirations of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union.

World War II proved that psychological warfare is as important as that waged by conventional armies, if not more so.

Christianity, enlightened and liberation nationalism, freedom and independence of nations and individuals, and the basic democratic ideas—all can effectively oppose Russian communism and imperialism, if intelligently and boldly applied.

Here lies a great opportunity for the United States to take over the leadership in this gigantic and decisive contest for survival—which the West collectively cannot and must not lose.

Maj. Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, outstanding British military authority, stated that the main elements in the war for which the West should arm, should be the following:

1. In an ideological age wars take an ideological character;
2. They are conflicts of ideas in which bullets play a secondary part;
3. The cold war is the real war, and its aim is internal attack on the enemy;
4. Ideas are largely impotent unless backed by force—the threat of actual war;
5. The greater the threat, the more audaciously can cold war be waged, hence the importance of scientific superiority;
6. As this may lead to the outbreak of actual war, the West must be prepared, not only to fight it, but to convert its war into civil guerrilla war within the enemy's country;
7. These things the Western nations will never adequately do unless—

(a) Western Germany is fully rearmed;

(b) Unless they cooperate with the National Resistance Movements behind the Iron Curtain.

Finally, let us remember this: In the mobile and scientific warfare of today, he who prepares for the defense only digs his own grave. So, in fact, who is our real enemy? The true answer is given by British Air Vice Marshal E. J. Kingston-McCloughry in his book entitled "Global Strategy" (page 10): "The enemy here considered is not simply embodied in an ideological threat but rather it is the State called Russia, that is, Russia as a power: a Russia expanding and desiring to extend her sphere of influence: a state posing as the symbol of all manner of ideals. It is Russia as a fighting force, an organized community, and a power state in the most autocratic and absolute sense with which we are concerned."